



2023

NSW YOUNG LIBERAL

REVIEW

A BRIGHTER FUTURE

*FEATURING A CONVERSATION WITH
THE HON. DOMINIC PERROTTET MP
PREMIER OF NSW*

4

Dimitry Chugg-Palmer:
President's Welcome

5

Cooper Gannon:
Editor's Note

6

**In Conversation with
the Premier of NSW**

10

**Reports from the Young
Liberal Executive**

11

Georgia De Mestre:
Women's Report

12

Haris Strangas:
Campaigns Report

14

Chanum Torres:
Policy Report

16

Patrick Wynne:
*Treasury / Rural and
Regional Report*

18

Lachlan Finch:
Campus Report

19

Dimitri Konstantindis:
Socials Report

21

Opinion Pieces

22

Liam Kiss:
*Reflections on the
2022 Federal Election*

24

Oliver Griffiths:
*Liberal Electoral
Success Relies on Being
Good. Different.*

26

Georgia Lowden:
*Liberalism, Social
Justice and Young
People*

29

Mikayla Barnes:
*Young Liberals in Rural
and Regional NSW*

30

Aceda Rose:
*Peterson's Political
Polarity Highlights a
Broader Issue*

32

Priscilla Spalding:
*A Brighter Future for
Australian Families in
Family Law Reform*

34

Claire Longley:
*Balancing the Benefits
of Uncharted
Investments*

37

Jack Haritos:
*Towards a Brighter
Future with a Unified
High School Certificate*

38

Samson Sternhell:
*Home Ownership for
Our Generation*

39

Scarlett Wakelin:
*Rare Earth Elements: A
Brighter Future for
Defence*

41

Freya Leach:
*Defining Howard's
"Broad church"*

43

James Skibinski:
*Imagining a Liberal
Conservative future*

45

Salman Rashid:
*Australia and the
Monarchy: Remaining a
Commonwealth Realm*

46

Patrick Wynne:
*Australia and the
Monarchy: Why Liberals
Should Believe in a
Republic*

48

Satvik Sharma:
*The Need for Morality
in Foreign Policy*

50

Lachlan Clark:
*The Unconventional
Case for Tax Reform*

51

Bryson Constable:
*Social, Moral,
Emotional*

"...what we must look for, and it is a matter of desperate importance to our society, is a true revival of liberal thought which will work for social justice and security, for national power and national progress, and for the full development of the individual citizen, though not through the dull and deadening process of socialism."

Sir Robert Menzies

**DIMITRY
CHUGG-PALMER**



**NSW AND FEDERAL
PRESIDENT
YOUNG LIBERAL
MOVEMENT**

PRESIDENT'S WELCOME

The NSW Young Liberal Movement is committed to fighting for a brighter future for young Australians by supporting good ideas and people today, while also producing the big ideas and leaders of tomorrow.

Politics is about the contest of ideas, and in the Young Liberals you'll get to be on the front lines of the contest by having the big debates and putting our values in to practice by campaigning to win elections. Our Liberal values – freedom of the individual, reward for effort, equality of opportunity, respect for the rule of law and smaller government – have had a powerful impact in shaping the wonderful Australia we all enjoy today. These timeless values also provide the solutions to the challenges facing young Australians today. If they resonate with you, then this is the place for you.

The contrast found in Labor and the Greens is a politics driven by envy and protecting special interest. It's a politics that seeks to enforce conformity, rather than celebrate individualism.

The experiences and opportunities you'll have in the Young Liberals are truly one of a kind – with activities like Young Liberal Ball, Young Liberal Convention, Mock Parliament and our Mentoring program. The people you meet will become life-long friends and go on to become leaders in the public and private sector.

Just look at the alumni that came through our Movement with former Young Liberal Presidents including the current Premier of NSW Dominic Perrottet, our nation's first female Defence Minister Marise Payne and our greatest ever Prime Minister John Howard.

On a personal level, I can safely say that joining the Young Liberals was one of the best decisions I ever made. If you haven't joined yet – what are you waiting for? At this year's State Election we have many current and former Young Liberals running to represent our party and our values. I encourage you to get out there on the campaign trail to support them and help re-elect a Liberal and National Government to keep NSW moving forward.

In this Review you'll see a demonstration of the policy heft our Movement brings to the Liberal Party and the public debate. The principles, ideas and values espoused in these pages will go on to shape real-world public policy outcomes put forward by elected Liberals at local, state and federal levels. I want to congratulate all of the contributors to this year's Review on producing thought-provoking and insightful pieces. You may not agree with everything you read – and that is okay! Please use that disagreement to spark a respectful and thoughtful conversation with the author.

Finally, an enormous congratulations to our Editor, Cooper Gannon, for his efforts in collating and editing the pieces that have made up the 2023 Young Liberal Review.

I wish you all the very best for 2023 and look forward to seeing you on the campaign trail soon!

**COOPER
GANNON**



**EDITOR OF YL
REVIEW 2023
MIRANDA/COOK
YOUNG LIBERALS**

EDITOR'S NOTE

Welcome to Young Liberal Review 2023!

Amidst the excitement of the March state election, there is a buzz around politics that speaks to one of the great foundations of our nation: participation in our democracy.

When the people of New South Wales vote upon their options for Premiers or local candidates or party platforms, it's easy to become lost in the colliding seas of red against blue (and, to our great dismay, an occasional hint of green or teal). The personal becomes the political, and we begin to measure our party's worth by the volumes of how-to-votes we're able to dispense, the number of houses we've doorknocked and our polling.

YL Review therefore comes at an opportune time for our movement; a time when we recall what's at stake. A time when we remember why it is that we choose to wear the blue shirts, as opposed to the red. A time when we decide not just what is worth celebrating from yesterday, but also have our say in what is worth fighting for tomorrow.

We choose to fight for a brighter future, one crafted by Liberal values. We defend the timeless value of individual liberty – that there is always a point where one's 'freedom to' can no longer be passed into the custody of government. We believe in free enterprise – that market economics, as opposed to the cruel ideology of socialism, is the unrivalled economic system for the maximisation of human flourishing. We seek to defend the core institutions of Western Civilisation – that ideal wherein the Australian is most allowed to prosper, under free speech and a common law inheritance.

Young Liberal Review 2023 contains new ideas for an increasingly new political landscape. I doubt many of us predicted the threat of the Teal independents faced at the Federal election last May, nor the issue of gambling reform to be a key battleground issue come March 2023. What is certain, however, is that Liberalism continues to hold the key to addressing each challenge our party faces as they arise, and I hope that within these pages you find thought-provoking policy, reflections and theory which sharpens your own perception of exactly what constitutes good governance.

To set the scene for your further reading, consider this thought from Edmund Burke:

"To give freedom is still more easy. It is not necessary to guide; it only requires to let go the rein. But to form a **free government**; that is, to temper together these opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one work, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful, and combining mind."

IN CONVERSATION WITH THE PREMIER

THE HON. DOMINIC PERROTTET MP



Editor Cooper Gannon engaged the Premier of NSW with a range of questions, from his time in the NSW Young Liberals to the crucial issues facing young people today. The Premier unpacks why now, more than ever, it is imperative to advance Liberal values through involvement in the Young Liberal movement.

We are incredibly grateful for your time Premier. We as a movement understand just how much work you're doing and how little time there is to rest, so we really appreciate it. Can I ask, to start with, which principles of Liberalism continue to inspire you today? What motivates you as a Liberal?

At the heart of our movement is the belief that great societies are built by people – by individuals, families, communities, all contributing their talents and their efforts not just to get ahead themselves, but to contribute to something bigger, and to lend a hand to those around them who need help or are less fortunate. I agree with John Howard that our party is at its best when it balances and blends the two traditions of classical liberalism and conservatism.

I'm motivated when we get that right in our policy. Government obviously has a role to play, but ultimately our society flourishes when we respect and support the freedom and the ingenuity of our people to create opportunity and solve the problems of our age. I'm also motivated by Edmund Burke's idea of a social compact between the generations: that we must value what has been handed down to us, and we must always strive to leave this place better than we found it.

I understand that you too were once involved in the Young Liberals. Indeed, you were a Young Liberal President! What made you join the Young Liberals?

I loved my time in the Young Libs! What attracted me to the movement was its positive outlook. We value hard work, we believe people individually can solve problems and make the world a better place. Economically, we are about growing the pie, not just demanding a bigger slice. As a young person, other political movements struck me as much more negative in their outlook, too focused on conflict and division. Liberals look to the future with optimism.

What lessons, if any, have you carried over from your time as a Young Liberal to your tenure as Premier of New South Wales?

My time as a Young Liberal taught me a lot about the contest of the ideas; being challenged by people who disagree with you is a good thing, because it helps you to understand different perspectives and hones your ability to persuade. As a Young Lib I found there were many good people who I disagreed with politically, but I always tried to find common ground – and when you do that, you can get a lot done. That has stuck with me as Premier.

What would you say to a young person who is considering joining the Young Liberals?

I would say take the plunge, because the world is full of armchair experts who commentate from the sidelines, but what our nation needs is young people willing to actually get involved in politics and really make a difference. The political philosophy at the heart of our party can make our nation a better place for those who call it home, but only if good people put themselves forward to serve their community – joining the Young Libs is a great first step, and I highly commend it.

You've previously shared that "Parliament is a place where debate should occur, it should be robust and it should be engaging... [that is] part of living in a peaceful democratic country". Have you observed any challenges to robust and genuinely engaging debate today? How do we prosecute Liberal philosophy against a tide of left-wing social media?

Robust debate is central to a strong democracy. In fact, you can't have one without the other. Social media has been both a blessing and a curse in that regard. It's given people a platform to express their views, engage in debate, and make a real difference with effective campaigning, which is all positive. Unfortunately the anonymity and impersonal nature of social media means it can bring out the worst in people, so that they say things they would mortified to say in person, and it can become an echo chamber that is out of touch with real world.

"Use with caution" is probably the best advice, and always be the bigger person by engaging respectfully. That must be the foundation of the Liberal party's case.

The theme of this year's Young Liberal Review is 'A Brighter Future'. Turning now to policy, how would you summarise your policy vision for our state's future? Why does a Perrottet government offer me, a young person, a brighter future than a Minns government?

Young people in NSW deserve to be able to look forward to a future where there are high-quality jobs in the industries that will power our future, access to the best services like health and education, and financial security including the chance to own your own home. We have bold policies to deliver on all of those fronts, because we have a plan for the long-term, whereas the opposition simply doesn't have that vision for the future. They have none.



Just as importantly, there is a real contrast in the two parties' capacity to deliver.

I don't doubt that NSW Labor has good intentions. But what we have seen time and time again is that they lack the economic and fiscal discipline needed to make those intentions a reality. Our record shows we can keep the finances and the economy strong, and that is what makes it possible to build a strong health system, to invest in education, to deliver the trains and roads our people need, all while keeping taxes low so people can focus on getting ahead. The Liberal-Nationals will keep NSW moving forward.

On the forefront of most young people's minds is housing. Why does a Perrottet government in NSW offer them a brighter future in terms of housing affordability?



My hair might be a bit more gray these days, but as a Millennial, I come from a generation where the dream of home ownership was already fading. NSW simply cannot have a future where we are unable to house our children.

For decade after decade, governments have tried the same old housing policies, but the problem is still there. Now, for the first time, our government is offering a new approach, by getting the worst tax in the nation – stamp duty – out of the way of home ownership for young people. In true Liberal fashion, we're not mandating this change: we are giving first home buyers the power to make the choice themselves. And in true Labor fashion, they are threatening to take away that choice, and instead to make stamp duty mandatory again, while tinkering with the same old policies that have been tried before.

On an intellectual level, how problematic is the association of the Labor party and the unions?

The overwhelming majority of union members are great people doing great work in industries that we all rely on. Unfortunately, when the leadership and executive of one of our nation's biggest political parties is inextricably linked to leadership in major unions, the lines get blurry, and you can have a situation where union leaders are less interested in what matters for their members, and more interested in climbing the political ladder. What's important to me is that we are a party that delivers for everyone in NSW, and as I have said in parliament, Labor MPs are often happier when there's a Liberal government, because we deliver more for their constituents.

I suspect one of the largest battlegrounds come March 2023 will be Western Sydney. Our party's guiding statement declares that we believe in equal opportunity and the facilitation of wealth for all Australians; what does a Perrottet government mean for the opportunities of those in Western Sydney?

Western Sydney is important because it is one of the fastest growing and most economically dynamic regions in the whole of Australia, and the aspirational outlook of so many families in the region very much mirrors the aspirational ethos of our party. Our top priority in the west is delivering the infrastructure and services to ensure that the communities there grow well, while also investing to create great job opportunities and investment opportunities close to home.

This isn't just a case of good intentions - the past decade has been a period of unprecedented transformation in Western Sydney, with game-changing projects like WestConnex and the \$5 billion back community infrastructure fund, WestInvest. We're building world-class hospitals in Liverpool and Nepean, great local transport like Parramatta Light Rail, and future-focused schools and tertiary education facilities, including the new precinct we announced at Westmead recently. Before we came to office, Western Sydney was an afterthought. We have made it the epicentre of opportunity in NSW.

My final question to the Premier of New South Wales! What would you say has been your greatest singular accomplishment thus far in your political career?

It has been the greatest honour of my life to have the opportunity to serve our state in times of unprecedented crisis, including the pandemic and the recent floods. Being part of the team that helped get our state through, and working alongside so many extraordinary people across NSW has filled me with pride in who we are as a state.

But I believe our best days are ahead of us, and whether it is creating those opportunities for young people to own a home faster, solving the age-old challenges with fresh ideas for health care and education, or building the next wave of transformative infrastructure, I'm determined and ready to tackle those challenges head on and find the solutions.

We have achieved so much, but there is so much more to do, and we have the team, the experience and the leadership to get it done. We will keep NSW moving forward.

Premier all the best of luck to you and your team. We'll be out there on the hustings at every opportunity to ensure we re-elect your government to secure a brighter future for young people, families and everyone in NSW come March.



EXECUTIVE REPORTS

MEMBERS OF THE NEW SOUTH WALES
EXECUTIVE GIVE REPORTS FROM THEIR
RESPECTIVE PORTFOLIOS. READERS WILL
BENEFIT FROM HEARING ABOUT HOW
OUR MOVEMENT ADVANCES LIBERALISM
FROM THE CORE TEAM ITSELF.



**GEORGIA
DE MESTRE**



**VICE-PRESIDENT
PADDINGTON
YOUNG LIBERALS**

WOMEN'S REPORT

The past year has seen women and the Liberal Party dominate internal and external discussions about the future of the Party. On a Young Liberal level, over the past year we have focused on mentoring and upskilling the women of our movement. We launched our Liberal Women Series in October of last year at NSW Parliament, joined by The Hon. Natalie Ward MLC, Minister for Metropolitan Roads, and Minister for Women's Safety and the Prevention of Domestic and Sexual Violence, Charlotte Mortlock, Founder of Hilma's Network, The Hon. Leslie Williams MP, Member for Port Macquarie and Deputy Speaker, Felicity Wilson MP, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer and for COVID Recovery and The Hon. Aileen MacDonald MLC. A massive thank you to Georgia Lowden for all her help in organising this event. Once the 2023 NSW Election is done we will continue this series.

The Young Liberals have a duty. A duty to promote and recruit young women to the Party, to train the next generation of MPs and to support our Party's female MPs and candidates. It will take commitment from all our Movements members to mentor young women in their branches, nominate them for executive positions within the Party and to put on the blue shirt to support the incredible female candidates we have putting their hands up for election. There is no denying our Party needs more women in Parliament. However, we are also a government that has incredible policies that should attract women to support us. We have led the way on a groundbreaking early education plan, criminalised coercive control, passed affirmative consent laws, invested a record amount of funding for preventative measures and support for domestic violence, provided women financial support as they undergo IVF and increased options for parental leave.

Our Party is at a crossroad and we will all play a role in shaping its future, and I believe investing in a pipeline of talented Liberal women is crucial. As Margaret Thatcher said, "If you want something said, ask a man; if you want something done, ask a woman."



**HARIS
STRANGAS**



**VICE-PRESIDENT
(CAMPAIGNS)
MIRANDA/COOK
YOUNG LIBERALS**

CAMPAIGNS REPORT

Amidst the madness that was the lead-up to the downfall of the Morrison Government, the reliable efforts of the NSW Young Liberals could not be faulted. There were no scandals involving Young Liberals. There were no attacks on the Liberal brand by Young Liberals. There were no instances in which Young Liberals undermined sitting Members. Perhaps the greatest mistake made by the NSW Young Liberals during the 2022 election was doing a great job of exactly what we were asked to do.

The NSW Young Liberals represent our Party's first point of contact with young people. It is time for us to be considered, consulted and trusted. Let's face it - old ways won't open new doors.

In the lead up to the 2022 Federal Election we did 'what we were supposed to do'. Week in, week out, 'Super Saturdays' across the state involved swarms of young volunteers draped in blue bringing the fight to Labor and the Teals.

Whether it was letterboxing the backstreets of Padstow to back in David Coleman for Banks, or hopping on a three hour bus trip down to Nowra to support Andrew Constance's nail biting bid for Gilmore, the sacrifice and commitment of our youth wing to the Liberal cause deserves full commendation.

The age-old problem with the NSW Young Liberals during election periods is that they have historically been lent on solely for basic volunteering jobs. It is essential and expected that this work is done - but as the youth wing of a political party that recently suffered a fatal fallout with young voters, now more than ever the NSW Young Liberals have so much more to offer.

Conversations on how the Liberal Party should evolve its policy focus are extensive and ongoing. So are questions about increasing the amount of diversity amongst our pool of candidates. However, an overlooked and under discussed challenge is the need to adjust how we share our message, particularly with Millennials and Gen Z.



The answers to these challenges are not complicated. They are not inaccessible or expensive either. Young people engage with digital content that is raw, quick, punchy, individualistic and, most importantly, authentic.

There are plenty of great case studies - despite her questionable politics, one only needs to look to Senator Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. On her Instagram which boasts a whopping 8.6 Million followers, video content dominates her pages. These range from casual live videos within the comfort of her home, to subtitled footage documenting a campaign message downtown in New York's 'Bronx'. Some of our own candidates and MP's are already on the front foot; David Crisafuli in Queensland does an excellent job at it. So does Jordan Lane, our candidate in Ryde.

The point of this report isn't to encourage senior Liberals to hop on the latest TikTok trend and learn a hip hop dance. Every candidate has their own respective 'style', 'skillset' and 'personality' - compromising one's credibility is exactly what young voters do not want to see. Instead, let's start a conversation about how Liberals can tailor their message to young voters in a way that is transparent and personalised via online mediums, with the assistance of Young Liberals.

It is worthwhile mentioning that the grass-root sentiments of local communities can be found on social media. Whether it's 'Willoughby Living' or 'Everything Sutherland Shire'; commentary on a controversial Development Application, complaints about traffic congestion or general policy feedback can all be found in community focused forums. Independent movements were sparked in online community groups. Many of the leaders and influencers of dialogue in these groups eventually became election winning candidates. It is up to us as a political party to have presence, be attuned in these arenas and genuinely contest them. Moving forward, it would be wise to delegate our Young Liberal resources to observing and analysing these trends.

Of course, the traditional methods of street stalling, letterboxing and door knocking still serve a purpose, and I credit the countless hours we've accomplished thus far - but the Young Liberal Movement has so much more to offer. As the political discourse shifts and ways of campaigning evolve in a rapidly changing digital world, it is logical to lean increasingly on the Young Liberal Movement for support and guidance.

**CHANUM
TORRES**



**OFFICER (POLICY)
MACARTHUR
YOUNG LIBERALS**

POLICY REPORT

The NSW Young Liberals are a powerhouse of ideas. The huge year that we have had in the policy portfolio is a testament to that.

We held a number of policy panels over the year, unpacking current issues through the lens of our Liberal values. We came to see how our unique Australian brand of liberalism is not an abstract, inaccessible theory but a way of thinking that springs from seeking to live in harmony with one's neighbours and seeking to cooperate with fellow-citizens to ensure mutual flourishing. We were joined by:

Israeli Ambassador His Excellency Amir Maimon, who spoke to us about real leadership as service to one's fellow-citizens and one's country. Thank you to the **Vaucluse branch** for helping to organise.



NSW Multicultural Minister Mark Coure, Mayor Ned Mannoun and Gisele Kapterian, who explored the need for Liberals to engage with culturally diverse communities in order to grow our membership base and win elections. Thank you to the **Georges River branch** for their help.



NSW Environment Minister James Griffin, who laid out the NSW Coalition's strong track record in environmental conservation and prosecuted the case for market-led, community-powered responses to climate change. Thank you to the **Manly branch** for their help.



Women's Council President Jacqui Munro and **NSW Attorney General Mark Speakman**, who walked us through the recently passed legislation criminalising coercive control. They spoke about the scourge of domestic violence and how the carefully crafted and defined legislation would make NSW a safer place. Thank you to the **Pittwater branch** for helping to organise.



Thank you to all of our guests! We also made our views known on the direction that our Party should be heading. I was particularly proud of our submission to the Federal Campaign Review. Our submission set the record straight. We did not lose the Federal election because we were 'too left wing'. We lost because we failed to appeal to the aspirations of hard-working, middle-of-the-road Australians. We lost because we failed to listen to professionals, women, young people and many other Australian voices. My thanks goes to **Dimitry Chugg-Palmer** and **Deyi Wu** for their leadership and to **Tamika Dartnell-Moore** in particular for co-editing the submission with me.



SUBMISSION

Review of the Liberal Party's
2022 Federal Election Campaign

August 2022

With the State election around the corner, it is time to put ideas into action. The Perrottet Government has served the people of NSW well with a bold, reformist agenda. Whether it is investment into infrastructure, universal pre-K and childcare support, leading the country in the transition to clean energy or reforming stamp duty to give families more opportunity - good Liberal government unleashes aspiration and lifts people up.

I'll see you all out on the campaign trail!

**PATRICK
WYNNE**



**TREASURER
RURAL AND
REGIONAL DIRECTOR
THROSBY
YOUNG LIBERALS**

TREASURY / RURAL AND REGIONAL REPORT

As a passionate member of the Young Liberals, I'm thrilled there has been so much activity in the portfolios of Treasury and Rural and Regional in 2022.

In Treasury, we made history on 8 December 22 by offering Young Liberals a choice to pay their Council registration fee using tap and go card payment, via Square. Numerous former Treasurers promised Square, none had ever delivered. It's exciting that it was under my tenure as Treasurer that we were able to deliver this historic achievement for our movement.

I was delighted that Sarah Halnan, one of our most passionate advocates for tap and go payment, was part of that history by becoming the first ever NSW Young Liberal to pay their Council Registration fee using Square - an achievement for the pool room, no doubt!

This historic delivery of Square builds on the numerous other successes in Treasury. For instance, our Council on 6 October 22 was the first ever stand-alone Council where members could pay their registration fee using a payment method other than cash.

Applying our creative thinking, we established a QR code, which directed Young Liberals to an online event registration link. Members could avoid the burdensome walk to the nearest atm by paying electronically through that link - a welcomed development!

Some Young Liberals have asked us, what's next? While Crypto remains under active consideration, we're presently content with offering three payment methods at Council: (1) Tap and Go, via Square, (2) Online Event Registration; and (3) Cash.



In Rural and Regional, we held one of our largest gatherings of rural and regional Young Liberals in recent times. Over 100 Young Liberals from across NSW travelled to our State's Parliament on 9 November 22 for Rural and Regional Drinks, where we heard rousing speeches from a number of special guests, who included Andrew Constance, Shelley Hancock, Aileen MacDonald, Peter Poulos, Nathaniel Smith, Peter Sidgreaves, Chris Rath, Luke Sikora, and Ministers Wendy Tuckerman and Mark Coure.



In another fabulous achievement for our movement, we created the critically important role of Rural and Regional Flying Squad Director. I'm thrilled that Mikayla Barnes was selected to serve in that role - I couldn't think of a more passionate advocate for rural and regional, and I know she will achieve so much. Dimitry Palmer has been an outstanding leader as President, and without him all of the successes in Treasury and Rural and Regional would not have been possible. The Young Liberals is the greatest youth organisation in Australia, and I'm honoured to have been given the opportunity to serve on Executive - a privilege I will remember for my life.



**LACHLAN
FINCH**



**DIRECTOR (CAMPUS
& CAREERS)
MOSMAN YOUNG
LIBERALS**

CAMPUS REPORT

There's an old adage about StuPol that goes something like: "University Politics is so vicious because the stakes are so small". It's sometimes attributed to Kissinger, but if he said it, he was almost certainly referring to professors not students. Hopefully that gives me room to disagree with the GOAT, because whilst the viciousness certainly remains, the stakes have never been higher on campus in New South Wales.

Make no mistake: the future of this state (and nation!) is rooted in campus activism. The debates that rage in auditoriums and avenues both shape and inform the political agenda of our broader community: from unionism and environmentalism to freedom of speech and civic liberties. University is not just the place where ideas are born and take root, however, nor is it just the place they battle for primacy before making their way into society. Uni is, just as importantly, the place where those who fight for those ideas find their feet, cut their teeth, and learn their craft. Indeed, so many of the Aussie politics giants started engaging in youth politics during their time on campus: John Howard, Malcolm Turnbull and Matt Kean are just a few examples.

So I guess you could say campus politics is important – which leads us to our next question: what's the scorecard from 2022? Well, incredibly, it's better than ever!

At USYD, an equal record 5 Conservative Club members were elected to the University of Sydney Students' Representative Council, namely Cooper Gannon, Satvik Sharma, Qiana Harvey, Bryson Constable and Thomas Thorpe. Jasper Arthur was also elected as a Director of Student Publications.

Ben Jorgensen was elected the Undergraduate Fellow of the University of Sydney Senate, beating all other candidates to be the sole Undergraduate Fellow.

Nicholas Dower was elected as a University of Sydney Union Board Director through the 'Dower Power' campaign.

At UOW, Abbey Dawson was elected to the UOW Academic Senate on the back of the 'Sustainability for Senate' campaign. Credit to team UOW for making headway down South!

Given the tremendous impact of student elections, and in an era of record youth disenfranchisement with conservative political parties no less, results like these speak volumes.

So, as we cap off a year of successes, it's only right to extend an enormous thank you to our outgoing executive team members, StuPol campaigners and O-Week volunteers. Building on your momentum, we've now got a terrific cohort of young leaders taking up the mantle across USYD, UTS, OUW and Macquarie. The whole young Liberal movement is behind them as they tackle 2023 – a year that promises a wave of liberal revival on campuses across the state. If you're at uni and reading this I urge you to reach out, get involved with your local centre-right club and make some real and lasting change: the stakes are too high not to!

SOCIALS REPORT

As the NSW Young Liberals Socials Officer, I am excited to announce that despite the challenges posed by COVID lockdowns, we have remained active and are now stronger than ever. In 2022, we offered a range of networking and social events, including pub crawls, budget nights, trivia nights, and many more.

These events provide not only the opportunity for interesting policy discussions, but also the chance to connect with a diverse group of individuals from various backgrounds and industries.

I can't wait to see what the coming year holds for us. As an organization, the NSW Young Liberals are committed to fostering a dynamic and inclusive community, and we are eager to continue building upon the successes of the past year. If you are interested in joining us, please don't hesitate to become a part of this exciting movement in 2023.

**DIMITRI
KONSTANTINIDIS**



**OFFICER (SOCIALS)
MENAI YOUNG
LIBERALS**



OPINION PIECES

OFTEN THE YOUNG LIBERALS ARE DESCRIBED AS THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY'S LEADERSHIP. THE LIBERAL PARTY OF TOMORROW NEEDS POLICY-MAKERS WITH BOLD IDEAS AND THE ABILITY TO PERSUADE; READ THESE OPINION PIECES TO DEBATE AND DISCUSS A DIVERSE RANGE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES, PROVING OUR MOVEMENT'S STRENGTH AS A MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS.



**LIAM
KISS**



**KU-RING-GAI
YOUNG LIBERALS**

VOTERS AND VOLUNTEERS NEED A VISION TO SUPPORT: REFLECTIONS ON THE 2022 FEDERAL ELECTION

The crowd cheering, party faithful shedding relieved and exhausted tears of joy, Premier Perrottet delivering a historic victory speech - this is the scene everyone in our Movement looks forward to in March.

A future-oriented, policy-driven Government returned for a historic fourth term - the first time in 164 years of formalised party politics in NSW that a non-Labor Government would do so. It'll be challenging, but it's achievable.

This election is about looking forward and presenting a vision for our state's future, casting off the baggage of the past that all long-term Governments carry. While the election is about looking forward, it is worth taking one last look back at the federal election to reflect on the lessons and contrasts that can be drawn as we contest the state election. Our party was riding high on former glories in the lead-up to the federal election. We had tackled the COVID-19 pandemic as arguably one of the best performers in the world, and this was to be the central plank of our campaign. This strategy carries merit - reminding people of past successes to earn their trust that we are equipped for the future.

The trouble is, we lent so hard into this strategy that we failed to offer substantive policies for growth and productivity coming out of the pandemic. With the country emotionally drained from the pandemic, people wanted something more optimistic. Rather than be reminded of the tumult of unpredictable lockdowns, border closures and first-time Government dependency - people wanted to be offered a path forward, a brighter tomorrow. That is where our strong credentials as a party of economic growth and productivity should have come to the fore.

We have the legacy brand recognition for going toe to toe with the best campaigns in the world on economic policy.

But instead, as with the pandemic, we focused on looking to the past instead of planning for the future. We arrogantly assumed that with a little push, people would take for granted that we are always the best choice for economic management. With inflation on the rise and significant government debt, this was always going to be a tough pill to swallow - regardless of whether we were to blame.

It was even harder to justify our strengths in economic policy when very little of it was offered in the lead-up to the election. Aside from a few tweaks and sweeteners, the only substantive policy offering was the Super Home Buyer Scheme. This wasn't a bad policy but releasing it in the last week of the campaign gave the appearance serious economic reform was more of an afterthought - a 'Hail Mary pass' rather than a core plank of our platform.

While this campaign approach obviously wasn't the most effective on the day, it had an even more detrimental result that must be recognised. In my seven years in the party, I've campaigned in three federal elections, one state election, six by-elections and two council elections. Every campaigner I have met has been unbelievably dedicated and passionate in all but one of these elections.

During the recent federal campaign, there was a degree of apathy among tired voters, but this pales in comparison to the apathy I witnessed among uninspired campaigners. For the first time, I saw swathes of party members of all ages and ideological positions either refuse outright to campaign or campaign with such disinterest as to be relatively ineffectual. Of course, there are always those who refuse to campaign - their preferred candidate wasn't preselected, the leader doesn't hold policy views they agree with, they've had a bad experience in a local branch etc.

But the large-scale refusals to campaign and non-renewals of membership I saw during the federal election was something new - for me, at least. This speaks to the necessity of offering a vision not only to voters but to the party faithful as well. Those who put in the hard work on polling booths need to be motivated for that last push when it's 2pm with the sun bearing down after a full morning of dressing and manning a booth.

And this is where the NSW Government's strength lies. This Government has never been content with sitting back and resting on its laurels. And it easily could - fixing the budget, restoring the state as an economic powerhouse, expanding and transforming public transport infrastructure, investing heavily in health and education infrastructure, and reforming Government delivery mechanisms are just the big-ticket achievements we can boast about.

But instead of coasting on these achievements, the NSW Government is going to the election with a platform underpinned by an ambitious tax reform plan, one of the world's most ambitious emissions reduction targets, and significant investments in early education. Any one of these in isolation is a bold new policy, but taken together, this is a vision for the future that, if communicated effectively, can inspire voters and volunteers alike. A vision of reform, productivity, education and a responsibility to protect our natural environment - a vision to keep NSW moving forward.

**OLIVER
GRIFFITHS**



**SHOALHAVEN
YOUNG LIBERALS**

COMING BACK FROM 2022: LIBERAL SUCCESS RELIES ON BEING GOOD. DIFFERENT.

Since May, there has been a broad public discussion as to why we lost the 2022 Federal Election. The L/NP primary vote at the ballot box was a historic low of 35.7%, and the Labor Party managed to pull off a win with a mere 32.6% primary vote.

Whilst there appeared to be a hunger for change in government, the appetite of the electorate was not satisfied by Albanese. In addition to a change in diet, voters may have grown tired of nine years of Coalition rule, but needed to rely on supplements to make the switch. Clearly their preference was a Green pre-workout, with a Teal protein shake. When discussing election results, it makes sense to view the electorate as a consumer who is shopping for their weekly groceries. In comparison, the political parties they choose from should be likened to competing supermarkets. In my completely unbiased view as a supermarket worker, I would have to say that the principles of the Liberal Party are shared most with the Aldi brand. We both believe in market-competition delivering the lowest prices, we pride ourselves in efficiency and naturally, the older generation loves both the Liberal Party and the Aldi brand.

The difference between the two is that Aldi is one of the most respected supermarket chains among Australian consumers, winning the Canstar Blue 'Most Satisfied Shoppers' Award the past five years in a row. The Liberal Party just lost government with almost a 4% swing on the TPP. The previous government might have had its flaws like any government, but we had a strong record. Scott Morrison was the first Prime Minister since John Howard to have served a full term in government. It is undeniable that the Liberal Party's strong pandemic management ensured that Australia's economic recovery from COVID-19 was one of the fastest and most successful in the world. Albanese has inherited a strong economy with a low unemployment rate.

The Liberal Party had a strong record of government and we took this to the election. So why did we lose? With the recent release of the Australian Election Study 2022 ('the Study'), a comprehensive analysis can shape our way forward.



The Study tells us that in May 45% of voters saw only 'some difference' between Liberal and Labor, 27% of voters saw no difference and just 28% saw a 'good deal' of difference, something which dropped from 40% in 2019 (Trends, p 28.). Whilst our how-to-vote cards told voters there was a 'clear choice' to make, they overwhelmingly disagreed. This is most likely due to the fact that the Liberal Party did not take a clear and ambitious policy platform to the electorate, and instead campaigned on our record.

Of course, the Liberal record is commendable. However, when our credibility as good economic managers and our national security credentials were undermined by a 5% inflation rate and the China-Solomon Islands deal, the lack of policy vision severely limited our opportunity for electoral success.

In fact, it certainly gave Labor a brilliant opportunity to shift the dial on key policy advantages which once belonged to the Liberals. In 2019, voters understood that Shorten was a Bill Australia could not afford. Yet in 2022, much of the country decided to flirt with a life uneasy, under Albanese. When 33% of voters see 'no difference' in taxation policy, and a further 30% actually prefer Labor's tax policies (Trends p.38) – then you know there is a major problem with our messaging and brand. This is a stark contrast from 2019, an election which was a clear contest between a comprehensive Liberal tax plan, and Labor's all-you-can-tax buffet. The outcome was 40% of the electorate seeing a 'good difference' between the two parties on tax (Trends p.38) – delivering us that 'miracle' victory.

So what does Aldi have to do with ensuring the Liberal brand is attractive in 2025 and beyond? Customers come to Aldi for two things: not just the brand, but also the special buys.

Working at Aldi has taught me the importance of quality control and maintaining a healthy short-life of products. After nine years in government, the Liberal brand slowly expires. We were once the party of homeowners, yet our vote share among this demographic declined from 50% to 38% (AES p. 25). Similar trends can be found for women, working class voters and those tertiary qualifications (AES p24-25). This can be attributed to our lack of attractive policy. Overall, 37% of voters are rusted-on major party voters. That means 63% of the electorate is willing to change their vote – we need to give them a reason to vote Liberal.

The key lesson from Aldi is that the brand comes from customer appreciation of attractive products, or in our case – policies. Aldi's 'special buys' were key to their success in the Australian market. Only at Aldi can you buy onions, an inflatable hot tub and gravy beef in the one shop. That's why people shop at Aldi.

It is the same for elections. Good policies, which are clearly different, is why Australians vote Liberal. We did not take a policy platform of fresh ideas to voters in 2022. Good policy reforms, such as scrapping the BOOT test, broadening the GST base and backing nuclear energy are consistently touted – we need to take these to the electorate. Not just the sole reform of superannuation for house deposits being presented a week out before the election. The Perrottet Government is a strong example of making strides with stamp duty reform. But if we don't put forward an ambitious policy platform, then the electorate does not know how we are any different to Labor.

Merely saying that life won't be easy under Albanese doesn't make it true. We need to prove it and provide a clearly better alternative for voters. Bringing our uncanny connection with the Aldi chain back to the forefront of this discussion, the Liberal Party needs to develop its own 'special buys' to ensure voters across New South Wales elect effective Liberals to the Parliament. And as Australia's Election Survey of 2022 tells us – the way to do this is by being Good. Different.

Data sourced from the 2022 Australian Election Study and Trends in the Australian Election Study 1987-2022.

**GEORGIA
LOWDEN**



**FLYING SQUAD
DIRECTOR
KU-RING-GAI
YOUNG LIBERALS**

LIBERALISM, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND YOUNG PEOPLE

It doesn't take a genius to recognise that the Liberal Party is no longer in its hay day. With nine blue ribbon seats lost to independents at the last federal election, many have been reflecting on what it was that caused everything to go so wrong. It is clear that the Party needs to reorient in order to win back votes, but there is no consensus on what exactly that reorientation looks like.

There is one thing we know for sure: the youth vote, which overwhelmingly favours parties on the left, is getting bigger, and our traditional, reliable voter segments are diminishing. According to the 2021 Census, Millennials have matched and will soon surpass Baby Boomers as the largest generation in Australia. Combined with Gen X, this age group constitutes almost 60% of voters. This is also where the Coalition haemorrhaged votes at the last election.

The ANU's 2022 Australian Election Study identified a particularly significant drop in Coalition support amongst Millennials - from 38% in 2016 to 25% in 2022, meaning just 1 in 4 voters under the age of 40 voted for the Coalition at the last election. Worse still, according to polling by Resolve, the number of young people who would vote in support of the coalition has dropped further since the election.

It is widely cited that younger generations are becoming less engaged with parliamentary politics and less active in party politics. We can observe this in the decline in political party membership.

Unlike the generations before us, many young people today don't see political parties as a worthwhile vehicle for promoting change and performing their civic duty. Frankly, what is the incentive for young people to join the Liberal Party when its public image is essentially 'male, pale and stale'? It goes without say that young Australians care about social justice, from preserving the environment for future generations to equality for minority groups.

Much of the younger public perceives the Liberal party as antithetical to social justice. They believe Liberals only care about protecting the status quo, convulsing at the prospect of social change like a shock jock on sky after dark, continue denying climate change, and simply use tax cuts as a means of pandering to the older, whiter and richer. They also view Liberals as sexist – a perception that can be hard to convincingly dispute when the state of female representation in our parliamentary party leaves so very much to be desired.

But I digress. In the ANU study, researchers boldly posed that the way in which the Coalition responds to the “overwhelming deficit” of support amongst young voters is “perhaps the single biggest question confronting Australian politics”. The Liberal Party needs to wake up to the new reality of voter demographics and adapt to the changes that the youth vote presents.

Reorienting party policies to engage younger generations does not mean abandoning Liberal values. If the Liberal Party stayed true to its founding principles, and better prosecuted these to the electorate, there is no fundamental reason why so many young Australians would be repulsed by the prospect of a Coalition Government. In fact, as the natural party of Government in Australia, the Liberal Party holds values (albeit sometimes poorly demonstrated) which best align with Australian society.

Young people value hard work and education, with levels of tertiary education continuing to rise. We are the social media generation – pioneering new ways of connecting with others and embracing new technologies. And of course, we believe in the inalienable rights and freedoms of all people – the opening line of the Liberal Party’s We Believe statement and the foundation of so many causes young people fight for. In this, it is the notion of equality of opportunity, not equality of outcome – the importance of the individual over the collective – that distinguishes us liberals from those on the left.

It was in the name of equal opportunity that the Menzies Government implemented a range of policies that dramatically improved living standards for all Australians. They introduced a range of social security measures, expanded support for education programs, introduced the Medical Benefits Scheme, and the Home Savings Grants Scheme and Housing Loans Insurance Corporation to help more Australians own a home. It was in part thanks to these last measures that home ownership in Australia rose from around 50% to 75% of the population in just a decade.

It was also Liberal Governments that abolished the racist White Australia Policy, granted Indigenous Australians their long overdue right to vote and of course more recently, legalised same sex marriage.

In the case of women’s representation in politics, it was a Liberal, Dame Enid Lyons, who was the first woman elected to the House of Representatives. Annabelle Rankin became the first female federal minister in the Holt government, and Edith Cowan – the first woman to serve in an Australian parliament – was a member of the nationalist party, a direct predecessor of the Liberal Party.

The first Aboriginal Australian to serve in federal Parliament, Neville Bonner AO, was also a Liberal.

These individuals found success in, and helped to shape, a party that stood for equal rights, freedom and opportunity, as well as reward for hard work. Many social justice issues can be boiled down to these fundamental values which lie at the heart of the Liberal Party.

Liberal beliefs like equal opportunity, reward for effort and preserving our environment for future generations are all pertinent to issues that matter to young people today. Issues like climate change, housing affordability, cost-of-living and social equality can be tackled by the Liberal Party in ways that speak to younger generations while staying true to its principles.

This is why the Liberal Party should view young voters as an opportunity, not an electoral burden that isn't worth fighting for. It is a belief in the ability of Liberal values to best manage the issues facing my generation that has inspired young people like myself to sign up to the Liberal Party.

The Party can amplify these small membership successes by better engaging younger generations – showing them that the Liberal Party is adaptable to changing needs and circumstances. After all, Liberal values are timeless. It would be a monumental failure for the Party to allow itself to be dismissed by younger generations as stale and irrelevant, and drag ideals like individualism and initiative with it to the electoral graveyard.

The case must be made to young people for why Liberal values are superior to those on the left which emphasise state intervention in people's lives and the supremacy of the collective over the individual. It is not too late to turn things around.

The 2022 ANU election study showed that voter volatility has never been higher. Record numbers of voters from all age groups are dissatisfied by the major parties and searching for alternatives. If the Liberal Party applies its values to policies that address the concerns of young people, and creates an inspiring vision for the future, their votes can certainly be won.



**MIKAYLA
BARNES**



**RURAL AND
REGIONAL FLYING
SQUAD DIRECTOR
SHOALHAVEN YOUNG
LIBERALS**

YOUNG LIBERALS IN RURAL AND REGIONAL NSW

I have always said the largest Young Liberal membership lies in the gold mine that is rural and regional NSW. With so much to offer, it is easy to see why some best talent has come from the regions; Paul Ell, Andrew Constance, Shelly Hancock and Wendy Tuckerman, to simply name a few. But, like many other issues that people living rural and regionally face, the central challenges of being a regional YL are resources, inclusivity and support. There are indeed many opportunities available, and a number of Young Liberals ready, willing and able to take part in these opportunities. However, it is no secret that living in rural and regional locations presents a challenge, often disadvantaging young people.

It is indeed true that the Young Liberal Movement is a 'broad church'. We encourage diversity and inclusiveness. I joined five years ago because the Liberal Party cannot be just for talking about the hard work we want to do, but instead actually getting in, gathering dirt under your fingernails and actually doing the work.

Our growth in rural and regional areas has been second to none as of recent, and arguably the most rapid in New South Wales. The positive role that rural and regional communities play in both the Young Liberals and the senior Party is phenomenal. With our dedication to the cause and family-like culture, Young Liberals from the regions are determined to represent their communities proudly, now and always. We don't do things by halves. With a plan to increase membership and representation in all levels of government – whilst simultaneously continuing to 'fight the good fight' on the ground – the rural and regional momentum is just getting started.

With the support of the Young Liberal Movement and the entire Party, our voice will be heard and united, regardless of where we come from. Now more than ever, the Young Liberals are coming together and standing together, regardless of background or geography. We are working away selflessly to ensure that we are well represented and understood – from Port Macquarie and Dubbo to Eden and out to Broken Hill.

Where you live should not and will not be a predeterminant of political success.

**ACEDA
ROSE**



**KINGSFORD/SMITH
YOUNG LIBERALS**

PETERSON'S POLITICAL POLARITY HIGHLIGHTS A BROADER ISSUE

Instead of carefully reading the news, we carelessly consume it. Instead of actively seeking to be informed, we lazily accept whatever our consumed media has told us is the truth. This is how the majority of our generation operates. And it needs to change.

It is this culture that has caused us to become fixated with polarising political rhetoric, one thing is right and the other wrong, devoid of complexity.

When thinking of a polarising figure, it would be hard to think of someone more prolific than Dr. Jordan B Peterson. Although establishing his presence as a Canadian clinical psychologist and Ivy League professor, Peterson has become increasingly controversial as his deeply intellectual views have become more and more politicised.

The main points of criticism against him stem from the left and his perspectives on feminism which challenge their conception of patriarchy and their disregard for biological gender.

It is these topics that most frequently surface on social media, where Peterson's views are cut into a 15 second clips, and spread over platforms like TikTok and Instagram Reels.

For people that do not have the context of his various interviews, lectures and publications, these extracts are all they may use to form their perception of his views.

Peterson's interview with British GQ is one of the most widely spread expositions of his views. The full discussion currently sits just short of 60 million views on YouTube.

The questions put by British GQ interviewer, Helen Lewis, highlighted inconsistencies in what she had perceived as Peterson's views versus what he has actually believes in.

This is a seemingly common dynamic whereby agenda-driven commentators signal issues they deem important, frog march their proponents into tight boxes, and then try to score political brownie points against them.

Peterson has been known to express 'right wing' views, which have subsequently meant that he has been demonised by the left.

Leftist public opinion weaponises these views into tools of division. Tolerance only applies to those that agree with them.

Peterson recently came to Australia, interacting with parliament, media and hosting live shows in major cities.

At his second show in Sydney, a student led protest group arrived ready to take on Darling Harbour as they scream through a megaphone 'people that are attending this are 'Neo Nazi's!'

The show (as advertised) was intended to be a discussion of his psychological book, '12 Rules for Life'. As someone that attended, I can confirm that I do not identify as a Neo Nazi, nor did the show transition me.

Evidently, our generation has become fixated with instantaneous, simplified conclusions, and has at large, lost the ability to understand complex issues.

Events, people and ideas have become increasingly simplistic in the age of flash media. This is a result of the rise in demand for instant, grabbing content, which is further pushed by an increasingly widespread use of algorithms to target specific ideologies and political opinions.

Social media platforms such as TikTok and Instagram are notorious for promoting over-simplified stories, a piece of a much larger puzzle or at worst, complete misinformation. When applied to political discourse, it must be recognised that these patterns are incredibly harmful.

This is because in making narratives so polarising, we subsequently devalue them, even if they are relevant and worthy of being heard, even if not agreed upon.

In demonising figures like Peterson so quickly, we run the risk of losing the value of difference of opinions and the worth of open debate that should follow within a democratic system.

In late June 2022, Peterson penned a Tweet regarding the transition of former actress, Elliot Page. The Tweet reads as follows:

'Remember when pride was a sin? And Ellen Page just had her breasts removed by a criminal physician.'

Controversial as it may have been, this tweet saw Peterson banned from Twitter for 'violating community guidelines' on the broad basis of 'violence and harassment'.

If misinformation is able to spread like wildfire yet a controversial opinion disables ones ability to use a social media platform, we must see this as a central challenge, forcing our generation down a radical-left path.

Ideas and perspectives must be learnt to be interpreted. Truth is not left or right, it is fluid. Confirmation bias is not a basis for effectively evaluating viewpoints.

We are going to be asked to solve this crisis in order to progress as a vibrant democracy. The extent to which we can achieve this may well define our generation.

**PRISCILLA
SPALDING**



**TERRIGAL
YOUNG LIBERALS**

A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR AUSTRALIAN FAMILIES: FAMILY LAW REFORM

The family is the heart of Australian life and, importantly, is a sensitive legal object which must be protected. This article will explore a number of crucial changes that occurred in Australian family law between 2013-2022 and how this reflects the Liberal-Nationals' commitment to securing a better future for families and protecting them from threats to their sense of security and wellbeing.

Liberalism is a recurring theme across changes to legislation affecting family law; whether it be easing court procedures or increasing the achievability of equal outcomes, the necessary role of the family in Australia is best-preserved by Liberal-National government.

The Morrison Government catalysed a complete transformation of the Family Law system. Attorney General Christian Porter tabled the historical change to the Family Court of Australia, seeing it form part of the Federal Circuit Court of Australia in 2021. While this decision was heavily criticised for its impact on the ability for family matters to be heard by expert judges, this decision was in the interest of lowering backlog and reducing unnecessary costs in lengthy court proceedings.

The prior issues were caused by the overlap between the federal circuit court and family court in the past, where the difference in place of hearing also placed families at risk of lower or no access to legal recourse (particularly in the context of a pre-existing large backlog).

A reduction in the cost of proceedings by streamlining the Federal Circuit Court will contribute to a less abrasive hearing process and hence a better standard of living for families who are experiencing breakdown. In the unique Family Court's place, there is now a Federal Circuit and Family Court (FCFC) which will deal with Family matters only, also retaining the Family Court's jurisdiction to hear family law appeals. The FCFC implements guidelines to ensure that judges are appropriately trained in the family law space.

Similarly, as of November 28, 2022, it became no longer compulsory to submit a Financial Questionnaire or Parenting Questionnaire to courts when families requested financial or parenting orders. This change supports the liberal lens of equal opportunity as there is no longer a necessity to disclose the financial status of a parent. This means that parenting and financial orders are based more on what is fair and just, not the personal circumstances of the parents involved in child custody battles and prescriptive outcomes as a result.

The removed necessity to provide a questionnaire regarding parenting also reduces the risk that parents face discrimination prior to hearings based only on their responses to the questionnaire, which may not always reflect their intentions as parents.

The removal of such questionnaires heightens transparency by reducing the risk of interpretive bias and increases reliance on the assessment of evidence. This heightened movement of family laws towards principles of fairness, transparency, and equal opportunity mirror our Party's liberalism and how it indeed contributes to greater justice.

This year, the New South Wales Liberal-National Government also revealed landmark Coercive Control reform, which now recognises psychological and financial violence as punishable by the criminal law system. Premier Dominic Perrottet commented that this legislation is in the interest of women's safety from multiple dimensions. This area of law reform reflects a move in our society away from toleration of any form of domestic violence within family environments, and the liberal government is not remaining anchored to the views that violence is just physical.

Criminalising the intent to coerce or control a partner, whether between those who are married or in a de-facto relationship, is representative of the liberal belief that laws should protect the freedom of the individual and restrict one's ability to harm another. This legislation will also be instrumental in separations where this type of violence is not tolerated and a grounds to obtain an Apprehended Domestic Violence Order.

In terms of what can be achieved in future, the Australian Law Reform Commissions proposed amendments to the Family Law Act 1975 within its 2019 and 2021 reports. These recommendations appear to reflect the liberal principle of individual rights within property settlements.

The court would now no longer be able to consider evidence of financial security as a factor of decisions in separations, instead focusing solely upon that which is 'just and equitable'. This would include ensuring that not even superannuation is excluded when dividing a couple's assets pool, especially if it means accessing super would meet the support needs of children involved in divorces. This is good proposed reform.

The proposed amendments further demonstrate that amending the family law act by Liberal principles involves ensuring that there is a fairer chance for all parents, no matter their financial background or personal choices about what is in the interest of their children. The changes represent a stronger adherence to the rule of law.

As demonstrated, the continuous improvement of laws, and consideration of the recommendations within the reports produced by the Australian Law Reform Commission, strongly reflect that the Liberal government is committed to protecting the future of Australian families. Reflecting the core of our party's values is the family and legislating in a manner which serves justice in all aspects of separation – in the court or indeed in the home.

**CLAIRE
LONGLEY**



**PITTWATER
YOUNG LIBERALS**

BALANCING THE BENEFITS OF UNCHARTED INVESTMENTS

Cyberspace is a foundational element of modern civilisation. It is a critical influence on economic performance, security, and the wellbeing of citizens and industries. In anticipation of the establishment of digital assets regulation, there is an immediate need for trust around cyber security to build confidence in a new avenue of prosperity - cryptocurrency.

Cyberspace is a global interdependent network of information systems, such as the internet. It is a societal advancement which we must regulate to balance its benefits with its risks. We are now moving from an internet of content to an internet of value with the emergence of digital assets. These assets are representations of value which can be transmitted and stored electronically. Forms of digital assets include cryptocurrency (digital tokens created by codes which relies on 'cryptography') and blockchain (Distributed Ledger Technology - the underlying network on which cryptocurrencies are traded).

Today, approximately 6.8 million Australians own cryptocurrency. The Technology Council of Australia predicts that, with the right consumer protection framework, cryptocurrency will soon contribute \$60bn annually to Australia's national GDP. Additionally, with improved cyber security, it estimates that \$300m per year could be saved in losses from fraud. With or without regulation, it is clear Australians will be engaging with crypto to receive the benefits of high returns, tax savings, efficiency, liquidity, and more.

In response to the increasing demand from individuals, the speed of the crypto industry's growth has outpaced regulatory development in most countries.

A space for crime

According to Austrade, a cyber-crime is reported every 7 minutes. The FTX cyber hack, resulting in \$477 million USD stolen within hours, and the hack of Ethereum seeing \$600 million USD disappear into the abyss, are the most recent demonstrations of digital vulnerability.

Cryptography allows users to stay essentially anonymous and traceability is usually impossible, making it very attractive for cyber fraudsters and financial criminals to swindle away your investments.

Current encryption techniques securing crypto will soon be rendered ineffective by the emergence of new technology used to break that same encryption.

Whilst there are discussions on issuing requirements to implement cryptographic algorithms which derive their security from highly complex mathematical problems (post-quantum cryptography) which surpasses the problem-solving ability of this new threat, no protection currently exists.

There is an urgent need to put aside traditional causes of delay and implement legal requirements for crypto exchanges to hold client assets in custody (a point of central control) and impose on these custodians cyber and financial crime prevention obligations. Crypto custody services (like Gemini) are third party providers who store and secure cryptocurrencies creating separation from crypto exchanges' assets. CBA's recent project to offer crypto (partnering with Gemini) has been halted due to compliance concerns against pre-existing regulations, implemented prior to the emergence of crypto. However, with the recent cyber security failure of Medibank and the faux security measures of FTX, how can we trust that personal information and finances will be kept safe by these third parties?

Rules Rules by Other Rules

Governments across the world are issuing regulations, laws and standards in dribs and drabs. Where there are various standards across various regulatory bodies, there are costly barriers to reconciling the inherent conflicts and complexities which result.

While APRA, ATO, ASIC, and AUSTRAC are our key regulators for crypto, they operate in silos. Most artefacts they publish do not connect with those administered by other Australian regulators. This is acknowledged by ASIC themselves, for example, in INFO 225. Without legislation to underpin regulation, regulator rule-making powers are extremely limited. They are able to issue stop orders, but will the stop orders lead to extinguishment of the industry as a whole? On the contrary, some of these regulators have been condemned for being too prescriptive, stifling the freedom of enterprise.

APRA, among other regulators, has identified cyber as 1 of 4 major consumer risks which will need to be managed, and something they indicate will be reflected in future Prudential Standards for cryptocurrency exchanges. These standards, however, are planned to only come into effect in 2025.

Even APRA's data collection requirements, which were rolled out last year and enable closer monitoring of risk and compliance, are not expected to take full effect until 2027 and do not take Decentralised Finance into consideration. This demonstrates the systemic barrier to delivering safer use of cryptocurrency.

One of the challenges afoot is regulator jurisdiction – that is, who has jurisdiction to regulate over what asset under what regulatory regime. There are hopes that this will be solved by Treasury's token mapping exercise which will determine which assets should be governed by what according to their nature (whether or not this achievable due to rapid industry evolution, or necessary to cause delay to regulation, is another issue).

However, how are we protecting consumers in the meantime? Will the regulatory disconnect from split governance of digital assets result in conflicting cyber security obligations for crypto firms?



Bringing into effect binding rules, regardless of how complex the subject is, takes years. Once the rules do come into effect, another few years are taken for entities to understand, implement, adjust, and actually get it right. By this time, we'll be contemplating the need to change these inherently inflexible artefacts in response to the ever-changing cyber ecosystem.

With the Liberal Party's Andrew Bragg pioneering safer crypto custody services through legislation, we know we have a promising pathway for future consumer protection and prosperity. Legally binding requirements must, and should, be established to provide recourse to protect the millions of Australians who are investing in cryptocurrency right now. The most flexible and timely solution, one able to operate alongside laws and rules once they come into effect, is the provision of guidance and transparency by a 'hybrid body'.

A Hybrid Body for a Dynamic Asset

Combating the tri-fold problem of disconnection, slowness, and inflexibility, is to have hybrid body composed of representatives from government, regulators, key industry participants, and subject matter experts. A body which is not solely an industry body, government focused or owned council, or a digital assets association, but a synergistic solution which collaboratively and cohesively brings together all interests and contributors which make up the existence of this industry. Two primary functions of such a body should include 1. the issuance and attentive maintenance of guidelines; and 2. collection, collation, and dissemination of information.

Driving our Liberal Values

Driving better consumer, industry, and economic outcomes will be challenging for regulators to deny in this context. There is a need for regulators to support entities to drive better consumer protection. This is achievable through holistic participation in the functions of a hybrid body. Fostering trust, coordination, and commitment among industry, regulators, and consumers would be at its core, naturally resulting in greater growth, freedom, and prosperity.

**JACK
HARITOS**



**PADDINGTON
YOUNG LIBERALS**

TOWARDS A BRIGHTER FUTURE WITH A UNIFIED HIGH SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

Australia's education system provides parents and students with freedom of choice not seen in much of the world. A variety of systems compete for students of many different backgrounds offering unique experiences that tailor to individual needs and aspirations. Whether this be catholic or other religious school, the International Baccalaureate diploma programme, Montessori academies, selective or specialist schools, or mainstream education. Educational diversity is something that grants freedom to parents that flows on to the shaping of the next generation of Australians.

Despite the diversity, there exists one particular aspect of education that is in need of reform or at least a comprehensive review. This is the separate high school leaving certificates offered by each state and territory. For although we have a uniform public national curriculum extending to year 10, we resort to different methods of examination to create a single data set for entrance to tertiary study. In New South Wales, school leavers spend the ultimate two years of their schooling studying for examinations and assessments different to those taken by their peers in other states. Only for these results from differing systems to then be spluttered together into a single unified rank.

This is the ATAR (Australian Tertiary Admission Rank). Thus, any difference between these systems is sure to lead to unfair circumstances, as differing state systems do not and cannot lead to academic equality. The inequity is further entrenched by the individual grading systems that states use. Some use scaling to match students against their own state to then receive a mark that will be used for ATAR. Whilst others rank students amongst their classmates, meaning students can have grades directly affected by the success or lack thereof of their peers.

As a remedy to this inequality which hinders especially interstate students for tertiary study, I propose a national secondary matriculation system based upon a uniform curriculum. No longer would Australian students sit a total of seven different English exams within the same country. But rather a national exam system based upon subjects taught the same across all schools with this system. For this equality is the only way in which the ATAR can become the truly equitable system that it was designed to be. Australia is blessed with what would otherwise be a non-discriminatory tertiary ranking system, let us take the next step and rid ourselves of our last great hurdle in high school academic equality.

**SAMSON
STERNHELL**



**GENERAL MEMBER
YOUNG LIBERALS**

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF GRIP, OUT OF MIND - HOME OWNERSHIP FOR OUR GENERATION

The dream of home ownership for our generation prompts a variety of intriguing responses - usually charged in character, emotion and tone regardless of who you meet. There is a spectrum of those who have given into sarcasm, defeatism or despondency and joke about it being a pipe dream. Those who aren't in reach of buying one but are still high on the pipe dream (also unfortunately most exploitable to grifters and scam artists). And those who rough-neck their way into owning one and then incur 30 year mortgages on studio shoeboxes which will crash in value the next time interest rates rise. Assuming they don't fall to pieces before then due to the lack of accountability for most crooked contractors nowadays.

It does not take one long to realise our generation has the lowest home ownership rate in recent history, whilst at the same time being burdened with the expectations of our parents and ridden with insecurities about our future and place in the world. It doesn't take a bright spark to also realise that this has been the consequence of subscribing and catering disproportionately to the policies and wishes of those with money made before 2008; boomers hedging their retirement through multiple properties and overseas billionaires performing nice amounts of money laundering away from the predatory taxes of their home countries.

Recently, as us Millennials and Gen Z crept with larger numbers into the workforce, voting booths and the mainstream public square, the minor parties, and the major ones - like our own - should do their best to notice they cannot continue without actioning reform. We should consider the way that after Scott Morrison narrowly hung onto the 2019 election on the retirement fund franking credit outrage campaign as a watershed moment before which the last stand of the North Shore Boomers was witnessed. The time to change things and have our time in the sun making decisions which secure our futures is here.

The question remains though, what do we as the Liberal Party, composed of many older members ourselves, do to incorporate the interests of the next generation without totally corrupting our principles?

The answer my is to stop kidding ourselves that upholding any types of special dealings given to real estate, land development and overseas purchasing of land and other critical assets does anything to uphold any of the ideals of the fair and open market for our citizens that we like to purport to voters every day. This means the repealing of sector and investment option exclusive tax breaks, subsidies and rebates which disproportionately benefit those who already own the market's most property or have the most amount of money to invest. It also means barring the ownership of land to real-estate hording non-residents; thought should be given to a means test if one is seeking to purchase land in Australia from abroad.

While our recent First Home Buyer Choice policy is an excellent start, there is more to do in the space of stamp duty. In an ideal world, stamp duty would be abolished, and we as Liberals must explore this ideal in greater depth (perhaps by broadening consumption-based taxes, such as the GST).

I will finish with a reference to the usual insights of New Zealand's maverick economist Michael Reddell in the North and South magazine from 2016, when he stated in more or less terms that growth of housing, fast-food franchises and tourism only represents a short term sugar rush to an economy. In the long term, the only thing that can guarantee sustained growth and economic stability for a nation is the focusing of resources and fiscal policy toward productivity-increasing changes.

RARE EARTH ELEMENTS: A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR DEFENCE

While history cannot prove clairvoyant in an infallible sense, it can certainly be a guide to help society prepare for the future. For instance, our contemporary world is benefiting from the increasing use of rare earth elements (REE) in a manner it hasn't before as renewable energy relies on efficient magnets for wind turbines and batteries to store solar energy. Australia has an abundant supply of REE ores, but lacks the refining techniques for extracting the pure elements from the rock.

In moving away from fossil fuels, Australia needs to acquire the processing techniques that China has developed, to ensure the reliability of Australian energy. In addition, REEs are also critical in the manufacturing of sophisticated electronic devices. The experience of the Second World War suggests that the use of REE will inevitably support the development of advanced warfare and defence technology. Therefore, the geopolitics of accessing REE will be a critical element for Australia's success.

**SCARLETT
WAKELIN**



**SHOALHAVEN
YOUNG LIBERALS**

Where WW2 was fought through Trojan-like deception campaigns, as seen in D-Day in 1944, and through strategies dependent on not being detected by the enemy, future conflicts are bound to be tied up in the use of surveillance technologies relying on REE.

As the Russia/Ukraine (2022) conflict reveals, smart drones overshadow the legacy of D-Day, with its innovative endeavour of rubber tanks, fake armies, and Percy Hobart's flail tank. In WW2, it was evident that the ability to access resources was a major issue.

In a large part, Germany lost the war due to its lack of oil and iron ore, and because it didn't have the industrial capacity equivalent to that of the Allies' Lend-lease scheme. Historian Richard Overy emphasises that in 1941, the USSR was producing 33 million tonnes of oil, whereas Germany was at 5.7 MT. The consequences were felt during Operation Barbarossa (1941), Alamein (1942) and the Battle of the Bulge (1944). Therefore, shows critical resources are essential in one's defence force. For democratic Western nations it is concerning that China dominates REE refinement and use.

REE possess chemical and physical properties essential for the development of new technologies that are increasingly vital to modern life. For example, magnets made with neodymium prove lighter and stronger than other magnets, allowing for more efficient electric motors and generators.

A read of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, or even Australian media outlets, draws one's attention to the dramatic rise in the military power of the Chinese People's Liberation Army – the army of the Chinese Communist Party. Thus, it's alarming that China dominates production and use of the REE that we are becoming reliant upon, because one can't go back to a slower or unsustainable world.

During the 1920s and 30s Winston Churchill was considered a "warmonger", because he alerted the British nation to Germany as a viable threat. He looked incongruent at this time post-WW1 because pacifism ruled the ethos of British and French society, as exemplified through Neville Chamberlain's rhetoric and appeasement tactics.

We often forget that Chamberlain's policy was driven by British society's desire to avoid engaging with Hitler's aggression. I once spoke to Richard Overy about how brave Chamberlain was to declare war in 1939, which is a fact modern day society fails to appreciate. In the 2020s, we can see allusions to the 1930s, and thus, Australia must be bold enough to contribute to our Allies' efforts by ensuring we have a domestic REE mining and refinement industry.

Even in a vastly changing world – one which carries the verisimilitude of being dissimilar from the historical – an understanding of history is vital. As the History News Network stated "2022 has shown that historical perspective is absolutely essential for understanding the news". We need to work towards educating the Australian population in history, as much as innovative science, for the development of REE to occur.



**FREYA
LEACH**



**KINGSFORD/SMITH
YOUNG LIBERALS**

DEFINING HOWARD'S "BROAD CHURCH"

The idea that the Liberal Party is a "broad church" is often touted, sometimes with greater or lesser levels of conviction. What is clear is that there is a unique tension at play in the Liberal Party; we are trustees of two distinct political traditions. The Liberal Party is at its best when it reveres the contribution of John Stuart Mill's classical liberalism to political thought, and acts as custodians of Edmund Burke's conservatism in our communities.

While the dual philosophies can give rise to particular points of tension, this article will examine how both exist in a symbiotic relationship. The Liberal Party is only the natural party of government because it is built on both of these mighty intellectual traditions. We rest on two rugs. Pull one out and the whole thing might fall over.

What is classical liberalism?

Part of the tension that arises in the "broad church" could be caused by an inaccurate understanding of what "conservatism" and "classical liberalism" actually mean. Classical liberalism is the term used to describe the ideology advocating private property, an unhampered market economy, the rule of law, constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion and of the press, and international peace based on free trade. A market order based on private property is seen as an embodiment of freedom. Unless people are free to make contracts and sell their labour, save and invest their incomes as they see fit, and free to launch enterprises as they raise the capital, they are not really free. And freedom is an essential ingredient in a flourishing society.

In Menzies' Forgotten People broadcast in May, 1942, he starts out by establishing the group of people he is addressing; the forgotten people. Defined by exclusion, the "forgotten people" are not the "mass of unskilled people, almost invariably well-organised, and with their wages and conditions safeguarded by popular law", nor are they "rich and powerful" those who control great funds and enterprises, and are as a rule able to protect themselves. Menzies was concerned for those caught between the organised unionists and the self-protected rich. In modern Australia, this is the "middle class". Corporate employees, small-business owners, professionals, farmers, and the like. This group is the backbone of Australia, it has a "stake in the country" and the home is the "foundation of sanity and sobriety".

Classical liberalism and its inextricable link to private property rights is foundational to our Party because it provides the framework for ensuring the "forgotten people" and today's middle class are able to build their "home material" - the first of Menzies' three types of homes. It represents frugality and saving for a home. From that home material, defence of one's land, and one's nation flows.

Classical liberalism at work in Liberal Party policy

Our Party's classical liberal tradition is manifest in our commitment to help more people buy a home by unburdening them from onerous taxes that impede their ability to invest their capital as they see fit. This is best observed in the Perrottet Government's First Home Buyer policy. For first home buyers purchasing houses up to \$1.5mil, they will be able to choose between an upfront stamp duty, or an annual land tax. If a first home buyer purchased a \$1 million home and sold it 10 years later, which is the average holding period, the property tax payments over the 10 years would total \$19,881 in present value terms compared with \$40,090 in upfront stamp duty - a saving of \$20,209. This policy shows the impact of classical liberalism at work in contemporary Liberal policy; unbridle the middle class from inefficient taxes, giving them the freedom to invest how they choose, and pursue Menzies' vision of the "home material" which is the building block for family and societal formation.

What is conservatism?

Now what is conservatism? What could that possibly add to the Liberal Party?

Conservatism can be characterised as an approach to human affairs which mistrusts both a priori reasoning and revolution, preferring to put its trust in experience and in the gradual improvement of tried and tested arrangements. Conservatives rejected a priori reasoning in politics, notably claims to abstract natural rights, manifested most dramatically in the French Jacobin dream of destroying and rebuilding society. There is a practical wisdom in institutions that is mostly not articulable theoretically, certainly not in advance, but is passed down in culture and tradition.

We see in this philosophy a rejection of pure political rationalism, which attempts to reconstruct society from abstract principles or general blueprint, without reference to tradition. Conservatives view society not as a machine but as a highly complex organism, and hold therefore that "without the aid of experience, reason cannot prescribe political ideals that can be realised in practice". Present generations possess duties and responsibilities whose original reasons, if they were ever apparent, are now lost. Tradition represents for conservatives a continuum enmeshing the individual and social, and is immune to reasoned critique; the radical intellectual is therefore arrogant and dangerous. For liberals and socialists, in contrast, tradition has value only insofar as it survives rational criticism.

In elucidating conservatism, one should distinguish between the metaethical claim that abstract values do not exist or are not worth pursuing, and the epistemic challenge "how are these values accessed in practice?" Conservatism is primarily an epistemic standpoint. Conservatives believe that values of justice, freedom, and truth are important and should be pursued by the state, but they interpret those values in a concrete fashion.

Thus, conservatism could be distilled into a temperance against radical change and the rejection of ancient institutions, combined with a rejection of political rationalism in favour of sceptical, pragmatic and effective reform. Menzies talks of the "home spiritual", and argues "Human nature is at its greatest when it combines dependence upon God with independence of man." There is a not-so-rational moral and spiritual vision at the heart of Menzies' vision for Australia and the Liberal Party.

How conservatism has shaped the Party's approach to vexing social issues is obvious; its hesitance to dispense with the Monarchy; its aversion to large-scale constitutional change to enshrine the Voice to Parliament; and its ongoing belief that the family is the bedrock of society.

This article has attempted to more clearly sketch the differences between the dual philosophies that animated Menzies' Liberal Party; classical liberalism and conservatism. The philosophies must be balanced; our classical liberal institutions ought to be protected by our natural conservatism. And its corollary is that the rationalistic pursuit of the abstract ideals contained in classical liberalism must be tempered by sceptical and pragmatic conservatism, always asking, does this create a better Australia, and at what cost?

While the Liberal Party is a broad church, a church only exists if we all believe in the same God. Paradoxically, the stronger our joint vision of liberal values, the more easily we will foster a unified and convicted 'broad church'. The party needs to be clear on its values, have members who hold these to be the primary forces of political organisation, and express a willingness to do the tireless and tedious work of teasing out the tension between classical liberalism and conservatism. As Menzies said in 1944, "No party serves the imagination of the people unless the people know the party stands for certain things and will fight for those things until the bell rings." And as John Howard said, "It is respect for the individual, free enterprise, strong families, and the international liberal order that define modern liberalism, with the nation-state as its instrument of expression". To move forward as a Party, we must all be committed to that understanding of modern liberalism while appreciating the value of classical liberalism and conservatism as philosophies that help guide our policy-making towards better outcomes for Australians.

IMAGINING A LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE FUTURE

We all remember the Premier's reading challenge, now it's time to do the Premier's dreaming challenge. In Dominic Perrottet's 2016 speech "The future of conservatism: Why we need a Conservative Spring", he described the challenge centre-right parties are facing around the world. These parties have been struggling to articulate a vision for the future and have instead contented themselves to becoming "speed bumps" for the centre-left. The Liberal Party is no exception. By failing to put forward their own idea of progress, we have lost everyone who craves ideas.

**JAMES
SKIBINSKI**



**KOGARAH/BARTON
YOUNG LIBERALS**

We lost the thinkers, the idealistic youth, and the educated professionals we were founded to represent. It has gotten to the point where "progressive" is now a synonym for left-winged. It is no wonder we were wiped out in 2022. Labor, the Teals, and the Greens all ran on vision while we ran on our record.

Among other things, they promised an Australia that is cleaner, where corruption is rooted out, and where Aboriginals have a formal voice. On the other hand, we promised not having a recession. In retrospect, it's not hard to see why we lost ground to all three of them.

We will not win them back by shifting to the left or to the right. Whichever direction we go, we will only alienate our members, our voters, and swing voters. The only way to win is to accept the Premier's challenge.

As he said 6 years ago "We need to paint a compelling vision of a conservative future – and bring people with us on the journey. It must be positive, hopeful and optimistic, telling people what we are for, not simply what we are against."

It is time to let our imaginations run wild and define our own version of progress.

We always say it ourselves, we are a broad church of liberals and conservatives. We're selling ourselves short. We are the most philosophically diverse party in Australia – home also to Christian democrats from the former Democratic Labor Party, social liberals, and environmentalists.

We are the descendants of the Free Traders, the Protectionists, and the many waves of Labor dissenters (Billy Hughes and Jo Lyons to name a few).

This makes our party the best placed party to create a vision that can appeal to the most people. That is how we have been the most electorally successful party in Australian history and that is how we will make sure this Federal defeat is not the end.

As Young Liberals, in courage let us all combine to build this vision. Let's sit down and ask ourselves and our friends, what kind of Australia we want to live in. Let's discuss and debate this, and come to a common understanding. We are lawyers and doctors and engineers and businessmen.

We are tradies and retail workers. Now it is time for us to become philosophers! To get the ball rolling, I am including in this piece my hopes for Australian society. I want to live in a society where people do the right thing because they are empowered to do it, rather than because they will be punished if they don't.

I want a compassionate Australia where the debate over abortion and euthanasia is not about if it should be legal but about how to support people, so they do not feel the need. Regarding the economy, I want Australians to be self-sufficient and able to provide for all their needs without the government's help.

Of course, if they cannot manage, the government must be there to help. Achieving small government not by cutting support for people who need it, but making sure less people need it.

With that, I pass on the challenge to you. What is your dream for a liberal conservative future?

**SALMAN
RASHID**



**KINGSFORD-SMITH
YOUNG LIBERALS**

AUSTRALIA AND THE MONARCHY: REMAINING A COMMONWEALTH REALM

One of the major subjects of debate especially among young people is whether we as a nation should become a Republic. What does becoming a Republic actually mean though?

A common argument for becoming a Republic is the appointment of an Australian as our Head of State. Realistically, the Head of State has always been symbolic. The role is held by the monarch, King Charles III, represented by the Governor-General of Australia. The monarch does not interfere in our national affairs and does not influence the government of the day, nor does the Governor-General, making this largely a non-argument.

It is widely known that the Greens advocate for a Republic. The Albanese Government plans to hold a referendum on becoming a Republic. The fact the Greens are advocating for it shows the entire premise of the cause is mere virtue signaling and advocacy for pointless "social justice", which is rather typical of them. One of the premises on which the Republican movement campaign is the possibility of an Indigenous Australian to be the Head of State. I highly doubt Indigenous people in Palmerston, Alice Springs, and Indigenous residents of, to name a few, the Maningrida, Warumungu and Wutungurra communities in the Northern Territory are worried about the monarchy. Issues that actually affect remote Aboriginal communities in the Territory range from crime, alcohol and domestic violence related issues. These are the sorts of issues Territorians are likely worried about, not our Head of State. Former Prime Minister Tony Abbott used to run the country from a remote Indigenous community for a week every year. That in itself is meaningful action, and we didn't need a President of an Australian Republic.

It's also rather evident that it's not only Indigenous people who cannot be Australia's Head of State; indeed, none of us can, only the monarch. We talk about having an Indigenous Head of State, but there's nothing that stops an Indigenous person from becoming the Governor-General or a State Governor. Nothing also stops an Indigenous person from becoming an MP or a Senator and directly influencing policy – for example, NT Senator Jacinta Price.

Furthermore, the monarch was critical in Australia's history and laying our nation's foundations. Colonization was brutal. Mistakes were made when the foundations of Australia were established by the European settlers. Becoming a republic will not change the mistakes made, nor will it eradicate the pain that was felt by many Indigenous people. However, the monarch also represents what we as a nation have become. We have established a wonderful democracy in our country and it is indeed a result of European settlement that infrastructure, development, and government came to fruition in Australia to build our nation into what it is today. It is why we now have a good system of government; the Westminster parliamentary system that has served our country well.

Furthermore, the monarch is a symbol of unity and stability. The monarch does not constantly change. To many, Queen Elizabeth II was the monarch they ever knew in their lifetime. Additionally, the monarch represents unity as Australia is a Commonwealth – a realm of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth Charter defines their shared values of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, as promoted by the quadrennial Commonwealth Games. Robert Menzies said "we believe in the Crown", which he saw as "the enduring embodiment of our national unity" and of the "unity that exists between all the nations of the British Commonwealth". What will we achieve by abandoning that unity? All it'll do is separate us from the British Commonwealth, despite our shared values and sense of unity.

The Monarch represents much of what has led our country to become what it is today. It is a symbol of unity and stability – certainly not something to be hastily discarded.

AUSTRALIA AND THE MONARCHY: WHY LIBERALS SHOULD BELIEVE IN A REPUBLIC

Our Party's 'We Believe' Statement is the ultimate expression of our movement's values. It articulates our guiding philosophy, and it is the chief document we revert to when challenged to formulate our views on matters of policy. So, what does our Statement say about an Australian Republic? How has it changed over time?

In November 1954, constitutional monarchy was listed as our first belief, with our Party's Federal Statement recognising that, 'We Believe in the Crown as the enduring embodiment of our national unity and as the symbol of that other unity which exists between all the nations of the Commonwealth.'

**PATRICK
WYNNE**



**TREASURER
RURAL AND
REGIONAL DIRECTOR
THROSBY
YOUNG LIBERALS**

However, much to the dismay of constitutional monarchists, belief in 'the Crown' and, by extension - constitutional monarchy, is no longer listed as our first belief. In fact, it isn't even listed as a belief at all! Our Federal Statement adopted in April 2002 now opens by saying that we Liberals believe in, 'Australia, its people, and its future'; no reference to the Crown, no reference to the constitutional monarchy.

It's a similar story when we investigate our Party's NSW Division. No endorsement of 'the Crown' exists. Rather, paragraph 8 of our NSW Statement sets out that we believe in, 'the Australian Constitution', and rightly so. It's our constitutive document. It's the legal birth certificate of our nation. It confers legitimacy to our institutions and systems of government. And notably - it confers power to change its composition.

Section 128, judicially described as 'the sovereignty of Australian people clause', enables alteration to our Constitution to occur. It reflects the reality that our national document is a living and breathing device capable of change. Our Party's 'We Believe' Statement has effectively transformed from belief in 'the Crown' to belief in 'the Australian Constitution' including the power to alter that Constitution.

So, if our Party's 'We Believe' Statement no longer endorses constitutional monarchy, why should Liberals believe in an Australian Republic?

Great question.

To answer this, we must again revert to our 'We Believe' Statement. In NSW, the eleventh paragraph of our Statement articulates that, 'in short, we believe in individual freedom and free enterprise.'

'Individual freedom' is the central belief of classical liberalism. The pursuit of liberty is the primary political objective of classical liberalism. In pursuing liberty, classical liberals strive to advance equality of opportunity, that is - the notion that all members of a society should have the same chance to compete against each other. So critical is the concept of equal opportunity, it's also listed as our fourth belief in our Federal Statement, and our fifth belief in our NSW Statement.

Australia is currently a constitutional monarchy. Under our current constitutional arrangements, a person can only become our Head of State if they are born into one family and one family only - the Royal Family. By denying Australians the opportunity to compete against each other for the role of Head of State, our constitutional monarchy undermines our efforts to pursue liberty. Constitutional monarchy is anathema to our Party's values.

We Liberals should believe in an Australian Republic because it is the most bona fide constitutional expression of what we believe in, being equality of opportunity and the pursuit of freedom. A Republic affords all Australians the opportunity to aspire to become our Head of State. Constitutional monarchy simply slams the door of opportunity closed.



**SATVIK
SHARMA**



**INNER WEST
YOUNG LIBERALS**

THE NEED FOR MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY

Henry Kissinger is rightly seen widely as one of the greatest diplomats of all time. By putting ideological differences aside, he used a practical analysis of needs, wants and interests to conduct foreign policy, formulating what we now call 'realpolitik'.

He was successfully able to stabilise relations in the Middle East, and he was able to establish a trade relationship with China that, up until the rise of Xi Jinping, served both nations extremely well.

Today, however, I make the case that realpolitik should not be treated as an end of itself, and that there is a need for an underlying moral framework in our approach to foreign policy. Foreign policy should be conducted with a broader ideological purpose, and the use of realpolitik should only be a means to an end, and not an end itself.

I fear that within the broader western foreign policy establishment, we have fallen into a trap of analysing (and thus conducting) foreign policy purely from a realpolitik perspective (and not a broader perspective that encompasses the deep questions around how we should act in our foreign policy as beacons of liberal democracy).

It is important to note that the reason this problem arises is precisely because realpolitik is an extremely efficient means to achieve an empirically observable end.

Like with game theory in economics, by analysing the rational decision making of states, countries can reasonably conduct foreign policy and optimise the outcomes that arise for their own nations. It is a simplistic tool that has been taught from university courses on international relations, and which has now permeated the entirety of the foreign policy bureaucracy.

In the modern era, such stratagem has always existed, at least in principle, to advance ideological goals. Whether this be the west siding with the Soviets to crush the Nazis, or the West engaging with autocratic Middle Eastern regimes such as Saudi Arabia to ensure energy security for Europe (alongside preventing Soviet dominance over oil).

The consequence of this however has been that the West effectively has been propping up different forms of autocracy, one after the other, for decades on end.

When one autocratic ideology is defeated, the West focuses its energy on another ideology, and to stamp that out we fund different autocrats. The problem here is that this underlying reliance on realpolitik thinking encourages short term decision making, undermining the strength of democracies around the world.

This is not to say that realpolitik should not be abandoned. It is a useful tool for analysis and strategic decision making (after all, it was worthwhile to side with the Soviets to defeat the Nazis). However, what is needed is an ideological approach, as opposed to ideological outcomes alone.

Australia, and the west at large has evolved to be based not upon a common ethnic or religious identity, but instead on principles around individual freedom and limited government intervention. As such it is clear that the West must always serve to protect such interests, even if it may be detrimental in a strict sense to its own 'national interest'.

This is where the GOVT1000 approaches fail.

An example of this would be our relationship with China. It is true that free trade encourages efficiency through nations specialising in areas in which they have a comparative advantage in. However it is patently obvious that China is using its growing wealth to not only suppress its own people, but also suppress the forces of freedom abroad. As such it makes perfect sense to transition away from a normal trading relationship with China, despite the economic damage that would occur as a result.

At the end of the day, the west must be focused on spreading limited government and individual freedom wherever it can do so reasonably. It is important that we be reasonable, we do not want to be seen as aggressors, as after all we want to spread freedom, not diminish it. The west should use intellectual and diplomatic exchanges more to encourage the spread of western ideas of freedom, democracy and free markets rather than war, to avoid a situation like Iraq or Afghanistan.

However, when appropriate and necessary, the west must always provide aid to democratic forces in any way possible. It is important to emphasise the word democratic, as often times during the Cold War, western nations aided organisations that were simply anti-communist, despite being themselves despotic.

It is important that we are pro freedom, and not just opposed to any one singular ideology that stands as a bulwark against freedom, but instead all such ideologies. It is our duty to provide aid to pro-democracy voices in China, or protestors in Iran, even if it is likely that they will fail.

At the end of the day, if the west does not stand up for freedom and democracy, who else will?

Let's not forget that our current world order is a great accident of history. If events such as the English Civil War did not occur, and if France did not support the American Revolutionaries during the American War for Independence, we would still be living in a far more autocratic society. At the end of the day, we should work together to spread freedom, and not diminish it or bargain it away for material gain.

**LACHLAN
CLARK**



**MOSMAN
YOUNG LIBERALS**

THE UNCONVENTIONAL CASE FOR TAX REFORM

The 2022 Federal Election demonstrated that the Liberal Party faces an identity crisis, particularly amongst younger Australians. Just 27% of millennials voted for the Coalition in the 2022 election. We cannot assume as young Australians grow older, their voting preferences will favour the Liberal Party, as this has not (and potentially will not) eventuate.

The Liberal Party must possess a platform that young Australians can identify with, whilst keeping to its values of minimising the influence of Government in our daily lives. This is the message we must send through our policies.

As a result, the case for broad scale tax reform could not be any stronger.

PAYG employees in Australia face the highest personal income taxes in the OECD, with the exception of Denmark, with personal income taxes contributing around 47% of Government revenue. The crisis facing Australia is laid bare in an analysis of the tax liability between a PAYG employee and a shareholder with franked dividends.

For someone earning a salary of \$100,000, they will pay around \$23,000 in personal income tax, compared with a shareholder who will pocket \$5000 from the ATO if the Australian company they invest in pays out \$100,000 in fully franked dividends.

Young Australians, as predominantly PAYG employees, will face an increasing tax burden if the system remains rigged against them. This is an opportunity for the Liberal Party to reduce the tax burden on young Australians and make our tax system fairer and more efficient.

The Liberal Party's platform should include:

1. Legislating personal income tax brackets to keep in line with inflation and finally remove bracket creep that punishes aspirational young Australians as they gradually attain higher paying jobs
2. Increasing the tax-free threshold to the national minimum annual wage of \$42,401 and keep it in line with inflation.

Part of the conversation around tax reform is shifting the burden of tax from PAYG employees to those who earn income from wealth. Here is how that could look:

1. Increase the GST to 15% and broaden the base
2. Remove generous tax concessions for superannuation and limit balances to \$3 million
3. Halve the capital gains tax discount to 25%
4. Scrap negative gearing on existing properties to encourage investors to purchase new properties rather than competing with owner-occupiers for existing ones.
5. Reform the dividend imputation credit system to remove the concession for investors who do not pay income tax

Young Australians are aspirational who should find themselves and their values aligned to Liberal party. With significant changes to our tax system, the Liberal Party can once again represent those who Menzies sought to fight for - 'the forgotten people.'

SOCIAL, MORAL, EMOTIONAL

It's December 2nd, 1972. A heatwave is about to sweep Australia in a couple weeks time, but William McMahon has decided to make a headstart on the sweating, his face grimaced at the sight of 23 years of coalition rule slipping away before his very eyes.

It isn't a landslide defeat as so many Australian elections involving a change of government are, but considering the historic stretch of stability in Australian politics, incoming Prime Minister Gough Whitlam will be happy with a 26 seat swing over the previous two elections.

A lot has gone wrong for the Coalition since the 1966 triumph. Besides the tragedy of Harold Holt, the Government was lumbered with internal dissension, beset with a deeply divided cabinet, and even unable to communicate with itself on the date of the election.

Resignations from the Foreign Minister and former Prime Minister John Gorton from his Defence portfolio didn't help the Australian people believe in a unified leadership team.

But above all this, the Coalition was bereft of ideas, without a moral imperative, and slowly slipping into the vice grip of voter apathy.

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People look back on the 1972 election as a contrast of momentum. Labor's It's Time campaign was iconic not just for its song but for its simplistic messaging and commitment to a narrative of renewal, both within the country and within its own party. It was remembered for its social policy reform, no matter how unfeasible or short-sighted.

Economic policy sustains a government, but social policy makes a government. The expenditure of political capital on grants and road building may be integral to a state's health, but it won't win hearts and minds. Psephologist Anthony Mughan found that unlike our British counterparts who tend to vote with volatility based mainly on "the electorate's greater sensitivity to its 'hip pocket nerve'," Australians are seemingly unaffected by the economic conditions of the day, more often than not linked to overseas forces concerning export markets rather than incompetent governments.

Rather, Mughan found that "long-term party loyalties" better characterise individual voting habits. It is no secret, then, that narrative and social policy is extremely important for Australian political campaigns, more so than other developed democracies.

Social policies are something we can relate to emotionally and fight for with conviction. Even when a voter is concerned about an economic issue, it is not framed in terms of statistics but rather in terms of 'not wanting to leave future generations burdened with debt' or 'ensuring the most impoverished in society can receive financial assistance', or even the age-old idea of ensuring 'personal fiscal rectitude and responsibility'.

These policies don't have to be particularly controversial, in the case of women's rights or promoting family, but often are, as in the cases of affirmative action, criminal law, and immigration.

In contrast to the rest of the developed world, our political parties sit on the economic spectrum, rather than the social spectrum. The history of the Liberal party as the non-Labor alternative is not of conservatism like the Tories, Republicans, Progressive Conservatives, and New-Zealand National Party, but of economic liberalism, individual freedom, and personal responsibility: everything that socialism isn't.

Perhaps this has kept us more moderate, but it has also limited both party's ability to set a vision for our nation backed by something deeper than economic rationalism.

We can't forget that the Liberal Party, contrary to popular belief, was founded with social narrative at its core. As Robert Menzies spoke:

"If the new world is to be a world of men, we must be not pallid and bloodless ghosts, but a community of people whose motto shall be, 'To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield'."

This "new world" envisaged by Menzies isn't one where slightly lowering the rate of income tax is an election-winning policy. It's one where an emotional narrative of go-getting is intertwined with the moral obligation to not become "pallid and bloodless ghosts," whose business is simple to "eat, drink and be merry."

The public at the time agreed. An astute Cootamundra resident noted in 1946:

"Mr. Menzies said that the real strength of Communism was that it had seized the imagination of a great number of young men and women. They were not looking for results tomorrow morning, but were prepared to go out and preach their gospel. Communism seemed a mad and destructive gospel. If it could secure the imagination of young people, then Liberalism, a clear and straight policy calculated to build a real and virile nation, should be able to secure far more supporters."

Awaiting every successful government on the road to the future is the inevitable moment they lose sight of the past. Thankfully for the NSW Liberal Party, that point hasn't come.

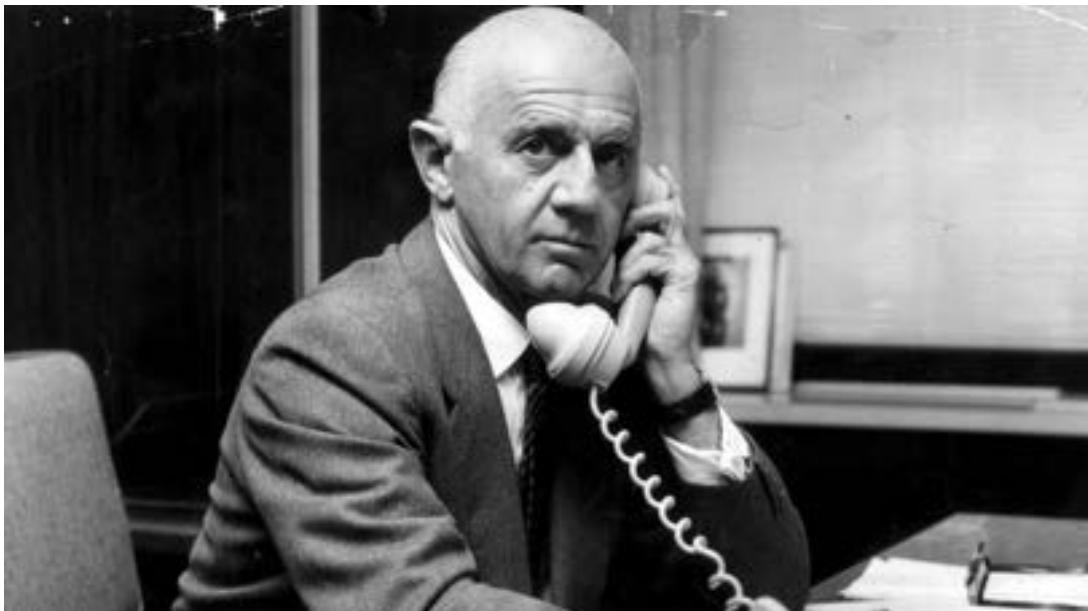
Reform backed by moral imperative and true to our ideological roots is abundant. Coercive control legislation, the First Home Buyer Choice, and grand infrastructure projects such as the Central Precinct Renewal Program all represent policies of vision, enabling individuals to be proud of their state. Our commitment to gambling reform is also a significant step to wresting back control over the moral imperative from mindless progressive policies that have captured the imagination of millennial voters for the better part of 30 years.

Yet, we also have much to contend with in areas such as privacy rights, moral concerns in healthcare, energy, and immigration.

So when it comes to March, focusing on our core tenets of personal responsibility and freedom will be key to ensuring constituents don't rest on apathy as a reason for voting. Turning public opinion further in favour of the Liberal brand and ideology is far more difficult than promoting our policies to the public, but a proper narrative undercurrent is just what is needed to "build a real and virile nation."

In Victoria, the propagation of some 869 policies overwhelmed and frustrated voters. If we are to seize the imagination of the public, succinctness and a return to a moral and emotional foundation has the ability to cut through the electorate.

In engaging the more challenging social policy issues of our day, we can sell our brand of freedom and the individual to the next generation and forge a more structurally sound future. As McMahon should have said: it's not time yet.



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WE BELIEVE:

- IN THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF ALL PEOPLE;
- IN WORKING TOWARDS A LEAN GOVERNMENT THAT MINIMISES INTERFERENCE IN OUR DAILY LIVES AND MAXIMISES INDIVIDUAL AND PRIVATE-SECTOR INITIATIVE;
- IN GOVERNMENT THAT NURTURES AND ENCOURAGES ITS CITIZENS THROUGH INITIATIVE, RATHER THAN PUTTING LIMITS ON PEOPLE THROUGH THE PUNISHING DISINCENTIVE OF BURDENSOME TAXES AND THE STIFLING STRUCTURES OF LABOR'S CORPORATE STATE AND BUREAUCRATIC RED TAPE;
- IN THOSE MOST BASIC FREEDOMS OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY – THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, WORSHIP, SPEECH AND ASSOCIATION;
- IN A JUST AND HUMANE SOCIETY IN WHICH THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FAMILY AND THE ROLE OF LAW AND JUSTICE ARE MAINTAINED;
- IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND TOLERANCE FOR ALL AUSTRALIANS;
- IN THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND THE FACILITATION OF WEALTH SO THAT ALL MAY ENJOY THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE STANDARDS OF LIVING, HEALTH, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE;
- THAT, WHEREVER POSSIBLE, GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT COMPETE WITH AN EFFICIENT PRIVATE SECTOR, AND THAT BUSINESSES AND INDIVIDUALS – NOT GOVERNMENT – ARE THE TRUE CREATORS OF WEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT;
- IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION;
- IN PRESERVING AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL BEAUTY AND ENVIRONMENT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS; AND
- THAT OUR NATION HAS A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE AND DEMOCRACY THROUGH ALLIANCE WITH OTHER FREE NATIONS.